Roman Catholicism

VOLUME II. NUMBER 4 B.

THE ENVELOPE SERIES.

ENLARGED.

20 CENTS A YEAR. SINGLE COPIES, 5 CENTS.

A QUARTERLY. JANUARY, 1893.

THE SCHOOL QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES

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ARNOLD PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION,

BOSTON, MASS.

Entered at the Post-office, Boston, as second-class matter.

TO ALL FRIENDS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

We send you eight of our four-page leaflets, in the hope that your interest will be awakened in this effort to bring to the light the Romanism that boldly, by its most trusted leaders, declares its purpose to capture this country for the Papacy, and couples its declaration with a determined effort to undermine and destroy our Public Schools ; to have Parochial Schools, under some guise, supported by the State ; to obtain the public moneys for its various institutions, and in general to corrupt and weaken our distinctively American and Protestant life by entering as a Church into Municipal, State, and National Politics.

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2. Kindly favor us with the names of five to ten persons who believe in our Public School System and in the American Idea of Separation of Church and State, and no appropriations for Sectarian Institutions, and

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ROMAN CATHOLIC TEACHING IN 1889.

THE BALTIMORE CENTENNIAL AND ITS DECLARATIONS.

THE twelve hundred delegates of the Roman Catholic Church assembled at Baltimore Nov. 11, 1889, listened to carefully prepared papers on many subjects, and to addresses by her most eloquent and distinguished sons. There are in these frequent expressions of loyalty to the country, which are satisfactory in phrase and form, and which we would gladly accept as the policy of the Papacy, but is it not significant that no other body of professedly religious people, save the Mormons, have in time of peace made such professions.

Their entire ecclesiastical system is now and ever has been so inimical to all that freemen hold dear, and their fundamental allegiance is so irreconcilably and transparently antagonistic to true fealty, that we can hardly be amiss in calling attention to a few fragments that embody the spirit underlying all their utterances.

1. All the speakers avow absolute and unconditioned loyalty to the Pope, who is now agitating all Europe and America for the restoration of the temporal power.

Charles J. Bonaparte, in his paper "On the Independence of the Holy See," says, recurring to the past years of the domination of the church: —

> "She needs now, as she needed then, a chief ruler who for what he does or leaves undone shall answer at no human judgment seat."

This puts the Pope above the laws and the Judiciary.

> "Catholics will never accept any law of an Italian Parliament as assuring the independence of the Holy See. A law is the act

of a sovereign affecting those who are his subjects, or at least under his legitimate dominion. That a national parliament should pretend to legislate regarding the Holy See is a denial of its independence."

Suppose that national parliament were the Congress of the United States ?

"If we admit that he [the Pope] is such a subject, then the laws of the Italian Parliament bind him as much if he disapprove as if he approve them. But in this admission is contained what Catholics do not and never can or will admit. The matter of the law goes for nothing, etc.; and for the Catholics of America we say this now and here — a subject he cannot be."

Would Mr. Bonaparte and the Romanists who applauded these sentiments, to which they pledged American Catholics, support the Pope in declaring null and void the laws, legislatures, and courts of the United States, as Pius IX. did those of Austria, Sardinia, Spain, Mexico, New Granada, Piedmont, etc., between 1855 and 1863 ? Is this their boasted loyalty ?

In addressing the assembled hierarchy, Archbishop Sotelli, as the representative of the Pope, said, —

"The Pope doubts not that the Catholics of America will labor that he may once more reacquire that independence and liberty which by divine institution appertains to him as sovereign head of all the church and representative of theperson and authority of Christ, and under which liberty and independence the power of the free constitutions of the States are founded, are maintained prosperous, and their existence secured."

Are Americans expected to believe that such assumptions consist with a spirit of loyalty ?

And finally, the whole Congress, in its last utterance, the platform of resolutions, declared itself thus : —

"We cannot conclude without recording our solemn conviction that the absolute freedom of the Holy See is equally indispensable to the peace of the church and the welfare of mankind.

"We demand, in the name of humanity and justice, that this freedom be scrupulously respected by all secular governments.

"We protest against the assumption by any such government of a right to affect the interests or control the action of our Holy Father by any form of legislation or other public act to which his full approbation has not been previously given, and we pledge to Leo XIII., the worthy Pontiff to whose hands Almighty God has

committed the helm of Peter's bark amid the tempests of this stormy age, the loyal sympathy and unstinted aid of all his spiritual children in vindicating that perfect liberty which he justly claims as his sacred and inalienable right."

This is treason in Italy. What is it here?

Archbishop Ireland thus represented the Congress in its thought of America and Protestantism: —

"America is at heart a Christian country. As a religious system Protestantism is in hopeless dissolution, utterly valueless as a doctrinal or moral power, and no longer to be considered a foe with which we must count. The Catholic Church is the sole living and enduring Christian authority."

Could assumption go farther? Dr. Clark affirmed, —

"The loyalty of the laity has been well exemplified by their devout acceptance of the dogmas of the immaculate conception and of papal infallibility, and in their docile support of the decrees of the American councils."

And Archbishop Ireland would have these dogmas accepted by everybody in the United States.

"Our work," he says, "is to make America Catholic. . . . Our cry shall be, 'God wills it.' . . . We know that the Church is the sole owner of the truths and graces of salvation."

Major Brownson of Detroit, speaking on "Lay Action in the Church," said boldly, —

"The American system is anti-Protestant, and must either reject Protestantism, or be overthrown by it."

Judge Dunne in his paper on "The State and Education" claims America now as Catholic. He says, —

"Why, then, should we not love this land? Is it not our own? Is it not Columbia, daughter of Catholic thought, of Catholic wealth, of Catholic courage? Is not this whole country really a Catholic land? Is it not under the care of Catholic saints?"

The different speakers fiercely denounce the State in its relation to public education, especially taxation for education as now laid equally upon all. Nevertheless, Americans, thanks to Protestant and State schools, can read, while Spanish, Italian, Mexican, and South American Romanists do not know their alphabet.

Many things said at this gathering need explanation, and we may perhaps best illustrate this by their references to the press and their professions of loyalty.

Dr. G. D. Wolff, speaking "On the Catholic Press," said, —

"The Catholic press is to be the antidote for pestilential literature. Catholic editors are not the expounders of what the editors may think in doctrine. Editors and writers are to declare the doctrine taught them by the authorized teachers of the church."

On the 13th of April, 1887, Archbishop Corrigan of New York wrote a letter, of which this is a copy: —

452 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK, April 13, 1887.

Editor and Proprietor of Catholic Herald.

GENTLEMEN, — By this note, which is entirely private, and not to be published, I call your attention to the fact that the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, following the leadership of Leo XIII., has pointed out the duties of the Catholic press, and denounced the abuses of which journals styling themselves Catholic are somtimes guilty. "That paper alone," says the Council (decree No. 228), "is to be regarded as Catholic that is prepared to submit in all things to ecclesiastical authority."

Later on it warns all Catholic writers against presuming to attack publicly the manner in which a bishop rules his diocese.

For some time past the utterances of *The Catholic World* have been shockingly scandalous. As this newspaper is published in this diocese, I hereby warn you that if you continue in this course of conduct, it will be at your peril.

I am, gentlemen, yours most truly,

M. A. CORRIGAN, *Archbishop of New York.*

Does this consist with freedom of the press? As a significant commentary on their professions of loyalty, it may be noted that since the Baltimore Congress the president of the Mormon Church has spoken, insisting that Mormons love the Constitution and the country, and are the most loyal of Americans. But to harmonize Mormon principles with Mormon professions is a far less difficult and complicated task, in view of the utterances of the Vatican in this generation alone, than to discover accord between the Pope's encyclicals and our laws; the papal Canons and the American Constitution.

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OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THEIR FOES.

(*From "The Two Sides of the School Question."*)

ACCORDING to the Catholic Directory for 1890, there were in the United States 13 archbishops, 73 bishops, 8,332 priests, 2,132 ecclesiastical students, 7,523 churches, 3,302 chapels and stations, 35 theological seminaries, 102 colleges, 635 academies, 3,194 parochial schools, 633,238 pupils in the parochial schools, 553 charitable institutions, and about 8,000,000 Catholics, over every one of whom the Pope claims control in spiritual and temporal affairs. These millions are not then free as are other citizens of this country.

What kind of liberty has a man to whom the mandate of the church is brought that he shall withdraw his children from the public school and send them to the parochial school, on pain of having the sacrament and absolution denied him? What does all this fine talk about *parental authority and family freedom* in education amount to under such a condition as this? And precisely this is the condition of the American Catholic world to-day. If the condition does not exist here or there *de facto*, it is simply because the church, for purely prudential reasons, does not deem it wise here or there at this moment to assume an attitude toward the family which it claims as its right everywhere and always, and which it may assume at any moment anywhere. Bishop Gilmour of Cleveland, who has been a leader in the parochial school movement, in his Lenten Pastoral of 1873 said, —

"If parents, either through contempt for the priest or disregard for the laws of the church, or for trifling and insufficient reasons, refuse to send their children to a Catholic school, then in such cases, but in such cases only, we authorize confessors to refuse the sacraments to such parents."

Parents who for social reasons chose to keep their children in public schools, mixing with Protestant children, were expressly pronounced "unworthy of the sacraments," and told that they "need not wonder if they will be denied them." The late Archbishop Purcell declared:

"We see not how they who wilfully and deliberately neglect this duty of sending the children under their care to a Catholic school, when in their power, can worthily approach or be conscientiously admitted to the sacrament."

Bishop McCloskey of Louisville in 1879 prohibited the admission to confirmation and the eucharist of children who had not passed at least two years in a Catholic school; and on Jan. 3, 1880, he issued a decree in which are these words: —

"Now it is our will and command that where there is a Catholic school in the parish, parents and guardians in such places should send their children or wards who are under nine years of age to such Catholic schools; and we hereby direct that this obligation be enforced under the pain of refusal of absolution in the sacrament of penance."

Like instructions were given by other bishops, and

"in the late case of Fr. Scully, at Cambridgeport, in the suburbs of Boston, who dared follow the teachings of the church [I am quoting a Catholic account] and refuse absolution to parents rebelling against their pastor in the matter of sending children to certain public schools, when a committee waited on Archbishop Williams, the pastor was sustained in his action, and the rebels were let to understand that their bishop considered himself insulted by the bare suspicion that they would find any support from him as favorable to public schools."

Now, this may signify but little to those who are not Catholics, but to one who from his infancy up has declared every time that he has repeated his catechism,

"All are bound to belong to the church, and he who knows the church to be the true church and remains out of it cannot be saved,"

this is a very serious matter. And as Bishop McQuaid of Rochester says frankly,

"It is not left with bishops to choose in this matter. They receive commands from an authority higher than their own."

The Instruction of the Sacred Congregation to the Bishops of the United States, on the Public Schools, approved and confirmed by Pius IX. Nov. 24, 1875, pronounced our school system

"a most pernicious system," and declared that "the most honored prelates must use every possible endeavor and means to protect the flock committed to them from all contact with the public schools."

It explained the conditions under which, pending the provision of parochial schools, the clergy might permit their people to continue their children in the public schools, and concluded as follows: —

"Whoever, having in their locality a good Catholic school, fitly appointed to teach their children, or, having the opportunity of educating their offspring in another place, nevertheless send them to public schools, without sufficient reasons and without the necessary precautions by which the proximate danger of perversion may be made remote — all these, it is evident from Catholic moral teaching, if they are contumacious, cannot be absolved in the sacrament of the penance."

You will find that declaration in the eleventh lesson of the common catechism, as enjoined by the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. In other popular expositions of the faith the doctrine is stated in sharper terms. In a little work entitled "Familiar Explanation of Christian Doctrine," adapted expressly for Catholic schools, and published with high approbation, you will read (p. 88) that all the Fathers of the church, "without exception," pronounce those who die out of the church "infallibly lost forever."

"Since the Roman Catholic Church alone is the true Church of Jesus Christ, can any one who dies outside of the church be saved? He cannot."

The present Pope declared in 1884, in an encyclical letter to the French bishops, that the church

"has always openly condemned schools called mixed or unsectarian, and admonished heads of families again and yet again carefully to avoid them."

He had previously addressed the Italian clergy to similar effect, protesting against the removal of the Catholic catechism from the public schools of Rome, and had addressed a short, comprehensive letter to Cardinal Manning and the English bishops, a certified translation of which was sent to Catholic papers in the United States.

Even before this, in the same year, 1885, Leo XIII. had revised the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, which remain the authoritative general word of the church in America concerning the schools:

"We exhort and command our faithful people . . . to regard the parochial school as an essential adjunct of the parish. . . . The school is nowise a matter of choice with the priest. . . . It is a duty and burden imposed by the church."

If this intense zeal on the part of the Roman Catholic Church for the good education of her American children be indeed zeal for education, and not chiefly zeal for church, how does it happen that the zeal is not equally intense where the church has things all her own way? How does it happen that this zeal for the good education of the masses in each given country is directly proportioned to the excellence of the public schools in that country? How does it happen that the chief object of anxiety is the United States of America? Are we poor above all men in reading, writing, and arithmetic? Is America, on the whole, in greater danger from ignorance than South America and Spain? Is popular education here, on the whole, behind that of Italy thirty years ago?

The oath of every Roman prelate is: —

"I acknowledge the Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church as the mother and mistress of all churches; and I pledge and swear true obedience to the Roman Pontiff, and Vicar of Jesus Christ, and successor of the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles."

There is here no recognition of any allegiance to the state. Can such men be trusted with OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

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ROMAN CATHOLIC METHODS ILLUSTRATED.

Bishop Gilmour of Cleveland, in his Lenten pastoral of 1873, is said to have instructed his flock that no candidate for office should receive their votes without first pledging himself to support the division of the school funds. It is notorious that Roman Catholic bishops and priests have often directed their flocks how to vote at elections, and have favored or opposed men and measures in view of the interests of the Catholic Church. Thus it was currently reported that Roman Catholic influences defeated the proposed constitution of Ohio in August, 1874, on account of its provisions for public schools. And in New Mexico, Wisconsin, and Illinois in the last three years Catholics have been instructed at the churches how to vote on questions connected with our public school system, with the nation as witnesses.

The late Archbishop Hughes, as early as October, 1841, publicly approved and advocated a political ticket for senators and assemblymen from New York City, and required from his immense audience a pledge of adherence to his nomination. In July, 1856, Bishop Charbonnel of Toronto excommunicated four members of the Canadian Government for not voting in the provincial parliament according to his requirement.

The explicit and open teaching of the Catholic authorities to their people in Ohio, Illinois, New York, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and elsewhere is that they have a right to the public funds for parochial schools, and should

be repaid the money they have invested in school-buildings. When they have the voting power they practise what they preach.

The "Hamilton" School in the city of New Haven, according to the report for 1870, was a distinctively Catholic school, of five hundred children, taught by eleven Sisters of Mercy at a cost to the city of $5,000. The teachers and scholars were under the spiritual direction and control of the Roman Catholic bishop, acting through the pastor of St. Patrick's Church. In other words, this school was essentially a Roman Catholic parochial school, yet supported out of the public-school fund.

In New Britain, Conn., the Catholic school in 1862 was adopted by the town, and supported at a yearly expense of $3,000.

In Waterbury, Conn., the parochial school, organized and controlled by the pastor of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, was taken under the care of the board of education, with the understanding that it was to consist of Roman Catholic children and teachers, and the opening and closing exercises were to be distinctively Roman Catholic. This school was supported out of the public-school fund.

At Loretto, Cambria County, Pa., in 1870, the Roman Catholic catechism was regularly taught in the public school. At East Saint Louis, Ill., the school-board bought for $9,000 an old Roman Catholic building which, when new, cost about $4,000; hired for $1,200 a year the basement of the Roman Catholic Church, and established schools in each place, that in the church taught by Roman Catholics. Bishop Persico, Roman Catholic bishop of Savannah, 1870–72, obtained for Roman Catholic schools a share of the public money.

In the early part of 1875 the Roman Catholics in New York City, as they had done in previous years in Buffalo, N.Y., and in Jersey City, N.J., formally proposed to the public-school authorities that the latter should take under their charge the Roman Catholic parochial schools, appoint for them Roman Catholic teachers, etc. As early as 1873 Bishop Gilmour had done the same thing in Cleveland, O.

Bishop McQuaid of Rochester, N.Y., tells how this is and may be done : —

> "We erect the buildings, provide the teachers, who shall, however, be subject to the examinations required by the State, and then, for a nominal rental, we allow the State full control of these schools during the ordinary school-hours, in which time only secular instruction shall be given. Before and after such hours we propose to give the pupils such religious teaching as we deem essential in the education of youth. The plan is already in practical operation in Corning, Elmira, and Lima."

Dr. C. O. Brown of Dubuque, Ia., made a personal investigation, covering in part the counties about him, and found public schools in Catholic buildings taught by sisters, whole townships under priestly control, the catechism a part of the regular day's teaching, the teachers paid from the public funds; so that, practically, school after school was being run as a parochial school and supported by the public treasury. It is this state of things that the Catholic hierarchy hoped to foist upon Stillwater and Fairbault, Minn., and that wherever they have the political power will be in one guise or another attempted all along the line. It is notoriously true now in localities from Texas to Minnesota, and from Maine to California.

The case of Boston previous to 1888 is by no means

an extreme one, and fairly illustrates the course pursued by Romanists wherever they have opportunity.

"The school committee of twenty-four members having in charge all the educational interests of the city, and composed of twelve Catholics, eleven Protestants, and one Jew, was practically run in the interest of Romanism. For years the text-books had been submitted to the examination of Jesuit priests, and until they were mutilated to suit these gentlemen they could not be used; while other books, as, for instance, Dickens's Child's History of England and Miss Thompson's History of England, were from time to time quietly removed from the schools because they contained things displeasing to those Romish inquisitors. Steadily and persistently competent and experienced Protestant teachers were dismissed and their places filled by incompetent Roman Catholic teachers. This was easily done, as the standing committee of the school-board on nominations was composed of four Roman Catholics and one Protestant, and when nominations were made to the Board all the Roman Catholic members were on hand to vote approval, while several of the Protestant members were invariably absent; and the masters to whose schools the incompetents were appointed were given to understand that if they cared aught for their places and their salaries they had better say nothing.

"In some instances priests would warn teachers not to mark children late or absent who were attending mass, otherwise they would pay for it; while in others a priest would go to a school during school-hours and have leave given him to take out Roman Catholic scholars, that they might attend some mission service in a Catholic church. Almost all the division committees having in charge the public schools had on them Catholic majorities, while the other standing committees were largely formed in the same interest; on some of the most important committees all the members were Catholics."

In contending against this condition of things we are not only defending our institutions, but protecting the rights of the Roman Catholic laity, so that a Roman Catholic parent, as well as a Protestant, may be able, without fear or favor, to send his children to a public school. — No Priestly Control of Public Schools!

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ROMANISM — ILLITERACY — THE CRIMINAL CLASSES.

In an address on "Compulsory Education in relation to Crime and Social Morals," Hon. William T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education, gives the results of a careful study of the question in seventeen States as follows: —

"In New York and Pennsylvania in 1870 the *illiterates* furnished *twelve* times as many criminals as those who were not illiterate; in the Central West the *illiterates* furnish *thirteen* times their share of law-breakers; while in the far West and Pacific section the *illiterates* furnish *ten* times their quota."

Mr. Harris adds that —

"Statistics collected by Dr. E. C. Wines in France show that 'of the *illiterates* there was an average of *one* arrest for each 41 persons; but only *one* arrest for 9,291 persons who could read;' and that 'in Switzerland the average of criminals unable to read through all prisons is eighty-three *per cent.*'"

In an address at the Mohonk Conference Mr. Harris said, —

"We have lately investigated at the Bureau of Education the statistics of the penitentiaries of all the States that report the condition of their prisoners in regard to education. Comparing the number of illiterate prisoners with the number of illiterate in the population, we discover this interesting fact: *the illiterate stratum of the population furnishes nearly four times its quota of prisoners.* Again, on investi-

gating the much more numerous body of law-breakers confined in our houses of correction, we see that *illiteracy marks its effects by sending eight times its quota to the jails.*"

It is well worthy of note that it is in the cities where we are burdened with a large foreign-born Catholic population, and in the States where this same element is large or predominant, that our jails, penitentiaries, asylums, and reformatories are crowded to overflowing.

In view of the fact now well established that any degree of education tends to lessen crime, and the extraordinary claims of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy for their peculiar system of church teaching, it is not perhaps unfair to ask how their church leaves its populations when free or largely free to do as it pleases. The following were the latest statistics obtainable from official and other reliable sources by the United States Bureau of Education in 1890 for the following Roman Catholic and Protestant countries. Such figures make it plain that we should have at least State supervision of *all* schools.

Roman Catholic.	Date.	Ratio of Illiteracy.	Protestant.	Date.	Ratio of Illiteracy.
Austria (proper)	1887–8	39 per cent	Germany	1889	Less than 1 per cent
Hungary	1887–8	42 "	Denmark	1889	Less than 1 per cent
Italy	1887–8	48 "	England and Wales	1888	9 per cent
Portugal	1888	82 "	Scotland	1888	7 per cent
Spain	1881	63 "	Norway	1886	Less than 1 per cent
Ireland	1888	21 "	Sweden	1887	Less than 1 per cent
Belgium	1887	15 "	Switzerland	1887	2½ per cent

Italy fairly represents the direct control of the papacy till 1870, and has had since then a good state system

of education. According to the report of the minister of instruction, in 1864 only three and a half of her twenty-one millions of people could read and write, about seventeen per cent, while in 1887–8 (see table) three times that number, or fifty-two per cent, were classed among those who were not illiterate, and this advance has been made in spite of the opposition of the Papal Hierarchy, with the Pope at its head, to State education.

Indeed, while in less than a single generation this marvel of change has been wrought, the Pope in addresses published in Rome has styled the Italian government and its followers "wolves," "impious," "children of Satan," "eneemies of God," "monsters of Hell," and Rome as a sink of corruption, with devils walking through its streets.

And now we are invited to listen to the counsels of Leo XIII. and turn our school system into a feeder to the Church of Rome by countenancing and supporting church schools.

This, too, in face of the fact that crimes of violence decreased nearly forty per cent in three years from the advent of Victor Emanuel in Rome, and that nothing would seem to more certainly show that "Ignorance is the Mother of Vice" and Roman Catholicism the Mother of Ignorance, than the condition of Papal Rome under Pius IX. Its illegitimate births were 143 to 100 legitimate (some authorities say more), while those of London were 4 to 100; its murders *one* for every 750 inhabitants, while in Protestant England they were *one* for every 187,000 people.

Another fact that the American people should well consider is that the *larger proportion of all the criminals* in our own land and in England are drawn from the members of the Roman Catholic communion. It is, for example, true in Massachusetts. Of 665 prisoners in the Massachusetts State Prison in 1885, 312 were Irish. Of the 3,426 in Massachusetts prisons in the same year 1,377 had one or both parents born in Ireland. But Protestant Irishmen are not criminals thus. Romanism has done this. While nineteen per cent of the people in Massachusetts who could not

read and write were Canadian French, educated solely by the church, and fifty-five per cent were Irish, with similar training, only two and eight one-hundredths of the illiterates of the State were born of parents who were natives.

Similar results are shown wherever statistics are obtainable, both in England and on the Continent, in Canada and Australia. Indeed, wherever Protestant influence is predominant crime diminishes.

But the most marked contribution to our certainty that the education furnished by the Roman Catholic Church is *fatally* defective, lies open to all observers, and is a full admission of all that could be charged. So greatly do the Catholics preponderate in all our public reformatory and penal institutions, that in every State Catholic priests claim that they should be admitted to these institutions above all others to minister to the "*spiritual interests*" of their inmates because they are Catholics.

It is a singular fact that for years the legislature of New York was annually invited to pass a so-called "Freedom of Worship Bill," the sole object of which was to give Catholic priests access, that they might say "Mass, etc.," to the penal and reformatory institutions of the State. If the priestly guidance of these worthy "Fathers" has not kept their pupils from the criminal classes, is there any fitness in having their services when the State is confining them under command of the courts?

Is it not a singular anomaly that "the church" furnishes the criminals, *and still, though criminals, they are in the church. If any church is to be given a special right to minister in our public institutions, ought it not to be the one that furnishes the fewest law-breakers?* And should it not be reason enough for banishing Roman Catholic priests as public teachers from these institutions, that they fail and always have failed to furnish a teaching that saves their people from crowding the ranks of the vicious and criminal classes. At least, is it not well for us to call a halt in the matter of placing Roman Catholic priests, or those who accept their dictation, in places of trust and on our school-boards unless they have been proved, and are known to be friends of The American Public School.

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POLITICAL ROMANISM AND FREE SCHOOLS.

THREE years ago, in September, 1889, a convention met in Santa Fé, N.M., and framed a constitution to be submitted to the people, under which it was hoped that New Mexico would be admitted as a State into the Union.

The Roman Catholic archbishop warned the "convention" that if provision should be made for the creation of an unsectarian system of public schools the Roman Catholic Church would oppose and reject the constitution.

Nevertheless, Article IX. on "education" contained these sections: —

"Sec. 1. Provision shall be made by law for the establishment and maintenance of a uniform system of public schools, which shall be opened to, and sufficient for, the education of all the children in the State, and free from sectarian or church control; and no other or different schools shall ever receive any aid or support from public funds. No sectarian tenet, creed, or church doctrine shall be taught in the public schools."

"Section 2 provided that all funds from lands, etc., should be under the control of the State *solely*, and never used for sectarian purposes.

"Sec. 7. No religious test shall ever be required of any person as a condition of admission into any public educational institution of the State, either as teacher or student; and no teacher or student of any such institution shall ever be required to attend or participate in any religious service whatever; nor shall any distinction or classification of pupils be made on account of race or color."

These sections were extremely obnoxious to the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church. Hardly less so were parts of Article XVI. — these for instance : —

"Sec. 2. Public institutions may be established by law for the maintenance, care, and instruction of deaf and dumb, blind or indigent sick persons, orphans or paupers; and whenever any such institution shall have been so established and put in operation, no other institution for the same purpose shall receive any aid or support from public funds. . . .

"Sec. 3. Public money or property shall never be used or appropriated for private purposes, nor for the aid or support of any institution not under the absolute control of the State." . . .

This, too, was offensive to Papists : —

"Article XVIII. Compact with the United States.

"Sec. 5. Provision shall be made for the establishment and maintenance of a system of public schools which shall be open to all the children of this State, and free from sectarian control, and no other or different schools shall receive any aid or support from the public treasury."

Describing the result a writer in the *Independent* says, —

"On Sunday last, October 5th, it is known that the pulpits of at least forty-two Roman Catholic Churches in New Mexico fulminated their decrees against the Constitution. Probably all others were required to do the same. In the Cathedral in Santa Fé, on that morning, the vicar-general, Eguillon, and in another church Padre De Rasche, commanded their hearers ('*Yo mando*' were the words used) to vote against that 'wicked Constitution.' At Terra Amarilla Padre Grom said that any Mexican who would vote for it was a 'miserable dog.' Here, in Santa Fé, and at Agua Fria, six miles west of this city, the people were told from the pulpits that if they voted for the Constitution they would 'be permitted to go to hell fire' — a forcible threat that the priests would not absolve them. The priest at Belen issued the same threat. From house to house priests went, commanding the women to see to it that the male members of the family should vote as instructed by the church. Pointing to the

framed pictures of saints hanging on the walls, the priests said, 'Could those holy men be alive among us, they would all vote against that iniquitous Constitution.'"

The American cities and towns gave the Constitution good majorities, but the Mexican population voted almost solidly against it on account of the provisions for public schools, *and yet there is talk of admitting New Mexico into the Sisterhood of States.*

In Wisconsin and Illinois the same battle under a different name seems to have been fought and temporarily won by Rome. The objects of attack were nominally the Bennett and Edwards school-laws, the salient points of which are thus summarized by the press: —

"The law provides that all children between the ages of seven and fourteen must attend for at least twelve weeks in the year some school where reading, writing, arithmetic, and United States history are taught in the *English Language.* Incidentally, the school authorities are vested with power to decide whether given schools other than public schools are fulfilling the conditions of the law."

Against this the bishops of Wisconsin issued a manifesto in which they said, —

"'We deny to the State the right to educate the children of those parents who are wiling and able to do so themselves. If parents want to delegate the exercise of their inalienable right to the State, — as those parents do who send their children to the public schools, — the State acts simply by delegated power, as the agent or functionary of those parents, not above them, but for them. Now, whereas our Catholic parents provide an education for their children which not only not endangers but promotes the welfare of the State, their schools should not be molested by any interference on the part of the State."

In Illinois a manifesto was read in the churches calling upon the Catholics to vote for candidates for similar reasons, with results known to us all.

In other words, the ballot is to be appealed to wherever there is a sufficient body of Catholic voters that can be marched under *priestly dictation* to the polls to vote against State supervision of schools.

There are easily 100,000,000 English-speaking people on the globe. They stand in direct and controlling relation to at least 300,000,000 more. In other words, about one-third of the inhabitants of the globe are directly interested in English civilization. And yet these Roman Catholic priests object to twelve weeks of the English language in parochial schools with the State to supervise. They array themselves against the two factors upon which we have depended for the unification of our mixed population, the English language and our free public schools, as they have always arrayed themselves against the open Bible.

Since the Roman Catholic Hierarchy have entered upon a political crusade against our public school system, could we do better than to remind ourselves of that part of General Grant's message to Congress in December, 1875, where he said, —

"I suggest for your earnest consideration and most earnestly recommend that a *constitutional amendment* be submitted to the legislatures of the several States for ratification, making it the duty of the several States to establish and forever maintain free public schools . . . forbidding the teaching in said schools of religious, atheistic, or pagan tenets, and *prohibiting the granting of any school funds or school taxes*, either by legislative, municipal, or other authority, for the benefit of any religious sect or denomination," etc.

This suggestion was embodied in an amendment to the Constitution presented by Hon. James G. Blaine to the House of Representatives, which passed it by an almost unanimous vote. Can sectional or party lines be better obliterated than in a NATIONAL CRUSADE FOR OUR FREE COMMON SCHOOLS?

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ECCLESIASTICAL ROMANISM AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

It has been well said that there is only one organization on American soil that distinctly and avowedly antagonizes our non-Sectarian system of public schools. That organization, as every one now knows, is the Roman Catholic Church.

"This is in its nature a foreign church. Its head is a *foreign* Pope; its conclave of cardinals is made up of *foreigners;* its priests are mostly of *foreign* birth or blood, while its following is for the most part of people born beyond the sea. The other churches have a legitimate growth by conversions from among the people, but Romanism on this continent has its recruiting station at Castle Garden."

The head of this foreign born and ruled church has made the following among many similar declarations in his famous "Syllabus" of Errors (fitly termed "A Bull against Modern Civilization"), proposition 45.

"The exclusive control of public schools in which the youth of any Christian state are educated . . . *may not and must not appertain to the civil power; nor belong to it in such a degree that no other authority whatsoever shall be recognized as having any right to interfere in the discipline of the schools, the arrangement of the studies, the conferring of degrees, and in the choice or approbation of teachers.*"

As to the separation of church and state, which to the American thought is inseparable from our national life, this same authority, Pius IX., affirms, —

"It is an error to believe that the church ought to be separated from the state and the state from the church;" while in an alloocution

of Sept., 1851, he says, "We have taken this principle for a basis: that the Catholic religion with all its rights ought to be exclusively dominant, in such sort that every other worship shall be banished and interdicted."

All these propositions have been accepted and added to by the present Pontiff, Leo XIII., and to make it practical in these United States, the "faithful" are not only directed by him to take an active part in "*politics,*" to vote only "*in the interests of Catholicism,*" but to "take as the rule of their conduct the *political wisdom* of the ecclesiastical authority."

What this signifies was well put in the centennial number of the *North American Review.*

"By the Papal Encyclical of 1864, which brands 'the system of instructing youth which consists in separating it from Catholic faith and from the power of the church, and in teaching exclusively, or at least primarily, the knowledge of natural things, and the earthly ends of society alone' as a thing, *reprobatam, proscriptam atque damnatam* (to be reprobated, proscribed, and condemned) the Roman Catholic church in the United States is irrevocably committed to conflict with a part of our public system, which by the great majority of our people is regarded as absolutely essential to the perpetuity of our free institutions."

The aims and claims of these papal leaders is thus set forth by Dollinger, the great Roman Catholic historian. Speaking of the power of the Pope according to papal law, he says, —

"It is illimitable, incalculable; it can invade every place where, as Innocent III. says, there is sin; it can punish each one; it admits no appeal, and is an arbitrary sovereign because the Pope, according to the expression of Boniface VII., bears in the safe of his heart all rights. Now that he has become infallible, he can in a moment change into an article of faith, infallible and unquestionable, every doctrine, every proposition, every pretence. Before him there is no right, no liberty, personal or corporate, for, as say the Canonists, the tribune of God and the Pope is one and the same."

The American public schools teach the children that in this land the people are the rulers, but the Canon law says, —

"All human power is from evil, and must therefore be standing under the Pope. The temporal powers must act unconditionally in accordance with the orders of the spiritual."

In accordance with these claims, and in harmony with the action of the Roman Catholic leaders in this land, whether speaking in their plenary council at Baltimore nearly thirty years ago, or by priests, archbishops, and cardinals, since, we have the *amazing* spectacle of a papal "ablegate," Mgr. Satolli, appearing in this country to tell Catholics what they shall do in regard to obeying the laws of the States as they relate to our public schools.

He says in part, according to Roman Catholic weekly papers, —

"The Catholic Church in general, and especially the Holy See, far from condemning or treating with indifference the public schools, desires, rather, that by the joint action of civil and ecclesiastical authorities there should be public schools in every State, according as the circumstances of the people require, for the cultivation of the useful arts and natural sciences; but the Catholic Church shrinks from those features of public schools which are opposed to the truth of Christianity and to morality; *and since in the interest of society itself these objectionable features are removable, therefore, not only the bishops, but the citizens at large, should labor to remove them in virtue of their own right, and in the cause of morality.*"

What does this mean? In plain English, that Mgr. Satolli, with the sanction of the Pope, calls on the Roman Catholic citizens, where they are in majority, to obtain control of the school-boards, put in their own teachers, teach the catechism, and Romanize the public schools.

Another paragraph not quoted fully by the daily papers was in part as follows: —

"We further desire you to strive earnestly that the *various local authorities*, firmly convinced that nothing is more conducive to the welfare of the commonwealth than religion, should by wise legislation provide that the system of education which is maintained at the public expense, and to which, therefore, Catholics also contribute their share, be in no way prejudicial to their conscience or religion."

How would this apply to the "conscience or religion" of the Mormon, Chinaman, etc.

"For we are persuaded that even your fellow-citizens who differ from us in belief, with their characteristic intelligence and prudence, will readily set aside all suspicions and all views unfavorable to the Catholic Church, and willingly acknowledge her merit as the one that dispelled the darkness of paganism by the light of the Gospel, and created a new society distinguished by the lustre of Christian virtues and by the cultivation of all that refines."

We have here in a sentence the kind of history that Rome desires taught everywhere — that which would exalt the Papal Church to be the glory of the world. And this the "*characteristic intelligence*" of Protestants in the United States is expected to accept in the face of the awful facts of European history under twelve centuries of papal domination, and while Catholic countries are flooding us with an immigration that the Church, though rolling in wealth, has not taught even to read or write. The Monsignor then adds, —

"*We do not think that any one here after looking into these things clearly will let Catholic parents be forced to erect and support schools which they cannot use for the instruction of their children.*"

In other words, the local authorities are to "be convinced that nothing is more conducive to the welfare of the commonwealth than [Roman Catholic] religion," and then Protestants are expected to concede whatever is necessary to render the public schools of America acceptable to the ecclesiastics of Rome.

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THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOL CRUSADE.

THE spirit of the Roman Catholic parochial school crusade in these United States is in direct antagonism to all that Americans hold dear, and comes from a body that has always shown itself hostile to the education of the common people.

Its chief spokesman among the Catholic laity to-day is Judge Dunne, professor in the Catholic University in Washington, who, after having been introduced (at the great Columbian celebration, at the Academy of Music, over which Archbishop Ryan presided), as the most eminent Roman Catholic layman in the United States, not only affirmed that the parochial schools should be supported by public funds, but added, —

"I do not consider that we are doing our duty as American citizens, to ourselves or to our children, in *permitting such a system of public schools to exist* as we have to-day."

This is in entire accord with the sentiment of the papal leaders of to-day, from the Pope down, — *the public schools must be modified* to suit the ideas of the "true church."

The Roman Catholic *Review*, perhaps the most influential Romish journal in the country, says, —

"Its (the State's) assumption of the right to tax a powerful minority to support a school system which it will not use, must be resisted.

No taxation without representation. Catholics will not have the public schools, therefore the State must allow them their own system; AND THE DAY MUST COME WHEN THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOL SHALL DRAW ITS SUPPORT ENTIRELY FROM THE STATE."

Archbishop Ireland, who is set forth by the press, religious and secular, as the representative of the best Catholic sentiment on the school question, affirms his position to be this: —

"I would, as they do in England, *pay* for the secular instruction given in denominational schools according to results."

In other words, we will have our public school system destroyed by having the State support schools for the *one hundred* or more groups of people who have a *denominational name* in these United States; we will have renewed the union of Church and State, and cultivate in all our schools those hates which are bred in the minds of parochial school-children to-day, against those who are Protestants. For it is coming to be notorious that parochial school teaching and parochial school plans are making what promises to be an ever-widening gulf between those who otherwise would be on the most friendly terms.

Well did a Catholic layman in an "Open letter to Bishop Keane" voice some of these evils when he said under the caption: —

WHAT CATHOLICS SUFFER FROM PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.

"Let us now consider for a moment the many temporal evils which are now, and promise to be in the future, only in greater degree, inflicted upon the Catholics of America by the establishment of parochial schools. (1) It taxes them doubly, and unnecessarily, for education: (2) it creates ill-will for them among their non-Catholic fellow-citizens, whom it causes to look upon them somewhat in the

light of public enemies, yet with whom they would gladly live in peace and good-will; (3) it shuts Catholics out of public office to a very great extent, except in the few small spots, generally a ward or two of a city, where the voters of their own church are in the majority; (4) it tends to drive away Protestant patronage from the Catholic engaged in business or the professions; (5) it, quite naturally also, works against the advancement of the Catholic skilled or unskilled laborer, giving the Protestant employe the preference, the mass of employers being Protestants; (6) and, in general, it isolates the Catholics from the rest of the community, carrying forward the foreign nationality of the Catholic immigrant with its many attendant disadvantages, into the succeeding generations of his descendants."

This same Massachusetts Irish Catholic layman affirms that the "laity" have not been consulted as to these "parochial schools," and adds that —

"Observation and inquiry fully warrant me in saying, that as regards Massachusetts, not more than one case in twenty of Catholic parents taking their children from the public schools and sending them to the parochial has been wholly voluntary, and that if a secret ballot of the laity had been taken on the question at the outset, not one parochial school now in this State would ever have been established. I believe, furthermore, that if such a ballot were taken to-day, and the option left to the laity, free from coercion, there is hardly one parish in Massachusetts that would not vote them out of existence. The majority of the Catholic people of America have never wanted these schools and do not want them to-day."

This is doubtless true, and it is in part probably because of this growing dissatisfaction of the Catholic laity, and in part because of the promise of a great Protestant uprising in defence of our cherished schools that we have the Roman Catholic Archbishops of the United States issuing a manifesto, and an Italian prelate in this country to tell us what the State shall do as to the education of its children. Think of the fifth proposition of this new programme offered to our State and National authorities.

"Fifth, the civil power to support the schools [parochial] and pay the teachers, or at least to contribute for the purpose an amount corresponding to the school tax paid by the parents of the pupils."

Are we to have a repetition in these United States of what has been enacted in Germany, where the clericals in the long struggle with the State for the schools have arrayed themselves with either party, so that their ends could be gained? Is it the purpose of the Catholic hierarchy to join themselves from this time in State and in National politics, with Democrats or Republicans, as the case may be, so that their end is gained, viz., a modification of our school system to suit their ideas.

There is no question but that the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church are fully committed to the idea of educating the children of the church in parochial schools, and this for the simple reason that to breathe the free air of the public school is to awaken a spirit of independence and inquiry that has ever augured ill for the church. One thing seems, however, to have dawned upon the Vatican: that to appear to direct the entire enginery of the church against *intelligence* rather than *crime*, would not only prejudice their cause with all classes, but might even break the backbone of the long-suffering Catholic laity, and so Mgr. Satolli announces that hereafter neither

"Bishop or priest" shall "either by threat or act exclude from the sacraments as unworthy, parents who choose to send their children to the public schools," or "the children themselves."

In other words, the *Parochial School Crusade is to be conducted on more politic lines, lest Protestants rise en masse and Catholic discontent become Open Revolt.*

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THE POPE AS SPIRITUAL AND MORAL HEAD OF THE WORLD.

CHARLES J. LITTLE, LL.D.

We come now to the heart of our problem, the Pope's claim to the religious and moral headship of the world. World I say, not church, much less Roman Catholic Church. To the Pope there is no Roman Church. There is a Catholic Church of which he, the bishop of Rome, is the supreme and infallible head. This exists for the entire world, and is the only body authorized, informed, and inspired of God for the teaching of mankind. The church is the sole judge of true and false doctrine, of what ought to be taught, how much ought to be taught, and under what circumstances and by what instrumentalities even the truth shall be taught. *And since the Vatican Council the Pope is the ultimate and infallible mind and will of the Church.* I prefer living authorities to dead ones, and conduct to opinion, hence I quote the following note appended by the greatest Roman Catholic of this century, Cardinal Newman, to the list of his published writings:—

"It is scarcely necessary to say that the author submits all that he has written to the judgment of the church, whose gift and prerogative it is to determine what is true and what is false in religious teaching."

Modern society is democratic society; the papal idea is monocratic society. If the democracy will submit in religious and moral questions to the monocrat, of course there will be no quarrel. *And this is what Catholic writers mean when they say that the Pope is not opposed to any form of government. To be sure!* a submissive republic is preferable to a rebellious emperor; Napoleon, ready and able to re-establish the Pope in France, to the Bourbons, helpless however legitimate. The papal war is with independent sovereignty of every kind,—imperial, royal, oligarchic, democratic; Italian, German, French, English, American. Independence is the sin of sins, obedience the virtue of virtues. In a recent French work on "Hopes of the Church," extracts from which have appeared in American Catholic periodicals, the doctrine of popular sovereignty is attacked with great subtlety and power. And throughout the work papal sovereignty is everywhere implied as the ordinance of Almighty God, the Pope as his authoritative voice in human society, his vicegerent,—NO MORE TO BE DISOBEYED THAN GOD HIMSELF. And this claim is a reality! has been for generations, and will be for generations to come.

Now, this stupendous claim is at war (1) with the independence of the Catholic clergy everywhere, (2) with the independence of all temporal rulers, (3) with the independence of all citizens in their relations to the State, (4) with the independence of all thinkers, all scientific investigators, and all historical scholars.

The first point hardly needs discussion: the cases of Lacordaire, who submitted, and of Lamennais who did not, will occur to every one acquainted with recent French history. Here were two of the greatest men of their time, full of patriotism, full of devotion to God

and to humanity. France needed them; their age needed them. "Silence!" commanded Rome. Pascal's heart was broken by the same decree.

Here in America we have a right to the unshackled opinion of every citizen. The stronger his mind the greater his learning; the purer the purpose of his life the more is his opinion worth, the greater is his obligation to express it freely for the public weal. But what can the Catholic clergy of America be, except the echoes of the Vaticanic policies? Down through all the marvellous machinery works the papal will. "Revoca," it said to Luther. "Revoca," it said to Döllinger. "Silence," it said to Pascal. "Silence," it said to Montalembert and "L'Avenir." "Silence," it said to Edward McGlynn. *Imprimatur* stands upon the title-page of Catholic book and Catholic periodical, and the *Index Purgatorius* is the shadow lurking near. And the theory I maintain cuts up by the roots the independence of the clergy and confiscates their intelligence and their learning to the uses of the popes.

Secondly, the theory is at war with the independence of temporal rulers. Monarchy absolute, monarchy limited, republic aristocratical, republic democratical, let them be what they may, — they must *not* be independent of the papal will. *Of course a republic which tolerates any form of worship is preferred by the Pope to a monarchy which establishes an anti-papal worship.* Hence Windhurst's exclamation during the *Kulturkampf* in Germany, "Give us American conditions!" But the ideal papal policy, never denied and never surrendered, is the establishment by law of the Roman Catholic worship in every organized community. It is folly to talk of the secret designs of Rome in the presence of this ensign floated openly for centuries. And if the

Pope were infallible in all matters of religion and morals, if he were the Vicar of God, clothed with supernatural wisdom and illuminated by the Holy Ghost, then the papal worship and the papal doctrine ought to be incorporated in every commonwealth, the sooner the better! Men should rush to accept his guidance and rejoice to do his bidding. The first demand of the Pope to any nation must therefore be to declare the Catholic religion the religion of the State. Such a demand was the basis of his *concordat* with the first Napoleon; such a demand will be made in America if ever the conditions should appear to favor its acceptance. His second and inferior demand must be for *toleration.* But as Louis Veuillot declared, *toleration binds those who grant it, not those who accept it as an inferior right. The Catholic may profit by it, but his principles make any religious system but his own anti-Christ, and anti-Christ he must not tolerate where he has the power to forbid.* To what extent the Pope, through his agents, may bring pressure to bear upon executive, legislative, and judicial officers in the performance of their duties, is another question of great importance. I am unwilling to stretch the scope of the doctrine of infallibility by a single hair-breadth. But if I were a Roman Catholic judge or legislator in America, I should dread the coming of a mandate which might compel me to choose between my country and my church. IN ITALY SUCH MANDATES HAVE BEEN ISSUED. — *Northern Christian Advocate.*

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